THE

Hindu Message

A Weekly Review of Indian and World-Problems from the Hindu Standpoint.

VOL. VI., No. 13.] Registered No. M. 1304. THURSDAY JULY 29 1920. [PRICE: 2 As. Annual Subscription Rs. 6.

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THE HINDU MESSAGE stands for

(1) The Maintenance of British supremacy with self-government for India,

(2) Co-operation with the different communities of India without prejudice to Hindu Dharma,

(3) Education of the Hindus as an integral part of the Indian Nation,

(4) Advancement of Material prosperity on a spiritual basis and

(5) Dissemination of pure Hindu Culture.

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A Vision of India.

THE COW.

By K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI, B.A., B.L.

What Hindu heart is there that does not beat
With reverence deep and loving sympathy
This true God-given friend of man to see
And touch the dust of her soft harmless feet.
In hearts she wins and keeps her peerless seat
Not by her glow of skin or armoury
Of nature's weapons causing agony,
But by her useful love which all doth greet.
We are her children dear though elsewhere born;
She comes with gladness to our waiting home—
A mother with the joys of mother heart.
Without her presence we would feel forlorn;
I see her white and pure as ocean foam
Wherefrom the heavenly Cow did brightly start.

Great Thoughts.

It was an ancient saying of the Persians, that the waters rush from the mountains and hurry forth into all the lands to find the Lord of the earth; and the flame of the fire, when it awakes, gazes no more upon the ground, but mounts heavenward to seek the Lord of Heaven; and here and there the Earth has built great watch-towers of the mountains and they lift their heads far into the sky, and gaze ever upward and around, to see if the Judge of the World comes not. Thus in Nature herself, without man, there lies a waiting and hoping, a looking and yearning, after an unknown something. Yes; when above there, where the mountain lifts its head above all others, that it may be alone with the clouds and storms of Heaven, the lonely eagle looks forth into the grey dawn, to see if the day comes not; when by the mountain torrent the brooding raven listens to hear if the chamois is returning from his nightly pasture in the valley; and when the soon uprising sun calls out the spicy odours of the thousand flowers—the Alpine flowers, with heaven's deep blue, and the blush of sunset on their leaves—then there awake in Nature, and the soul of man can see and comprehend them, an expectation and a longing for a future revelation of God's majesty.

Discretion of speech is more than eloquence; and to speak agreeably to him with whom we deal, is more than to speak in good words or in good order.

We do a great deal of grumbling about the rough journey of life when we might be using our strength to better advantage in mending the road. Much of the roughness comes of our own careless road-making.

Learning to admire what is a admirable is very valuable part of education. A quick eye, ear and soul for that which is noble and beautiful is more than a means of pleasure; it is gain and uplift.

Fear enslaves, reverence emancipates; fear dries up the springs of the soul; reverence makes the soul like a garden of living water; fear makes the slave, reverence makes the son; fear acts like the winter, reverence acts like the spring.

It were enough to make the very angels weep to see how we frail beings, whose life is brief as the summer's sunshine, do spend it in warring with one another! We depend so utterly upon each other. Our sole capacity for bliss of this earth, is in the sympathy of hearts that are human like our own; and yet, when driven by the winds of destiny across another's path, how wantonly do we often crush beneath our careless tread the few pale flowers given to hide the piercing thorns! How many go down from an unblest life to an untimely grave, dragged thither by the remorseless hands of their fellow-men! Hate, envy, unrequited affection, faithlessness, deceit—who shall sum up the various tortures one mortal may inflict upon another?

Events of the Week.

A Wayfarer writes in 'The Nation' of the 3rd instant:—"The Irish storm blows on; but our rain-makers seem eager to work up an even greater tempest in India. I should have thought that any one cognisant of Indian opinion, Mohammedan and Hindu, of the moderate shade and the advanced varieties, would say that never at any period of our rule has there been so profound and universal an alienation. The feeling was not, I believe, an inevitable issue of the crime of the Jalianwala Bagh, and of the reign of military law in the Punjab. But it is the instinctive response to the almost universal Anglo-Indian condonation of these acts. Condonation, indeed, is much too weak a word. Dyerism has become a passion with the average Anglo-Indian mind, and society here is undeniably infected with it. Pride and race aversion have triumphed, and even cool-headed men indulge them without regard to their fatal effect on our rule in India. I am not convinced that Mr. Montagu can stand against the tide. If he remains in office to qualify his already qualified censure, his power in India, already much shaken, is gone, and his reforms are waste-paper. A defiance of this spirit of ruinous and reckless reaction might yet save them. But a Roman gesture is rare in our governing class; and it ill suits the India-rubber face that a Coalition turns upon all its difficulties, moral and politico-moral. Therefore the Cabinet may encounter and admit the affront of having its deliberate description of Dyerism as an uncivilized thing emerging from the Army Council as conduct becoming an officer and a gentleman. But is it credible that Mr. Montagu can consent to be the agent of its and his own humiliation?

* * *

"Let me come a little closer to the issue. If the Army Council reinstate General Dyer, and the civil power accepts its defeat at the hands of a "Committee of Generals," there will be little hope of Indian co-operation with the Reforms. Indians will either decline election, or will go on to the Councils as a party of opposition. But there may be another issue. The Army Council may ask for a fresh inquiry. In this event, Indian opinion might not only accept the situation, but even welcome it, because of its firm belief that if the grave matters opened up by the Committee of the National Congress are fully disclosed, the Viceroy must go, and Sir Michael O'Dwyer be completely discredited. Clearly, Lord Chelmsford's position is critical. Mr. Montagu is charged with hiding the truth about Amritsar and martial law. Supposing he did not fully know it, and that in fact the Indian Government failed to keep him properly informed? And on the administrative side, where is its defence? Its melancholy report is an act of self-conviction. It gives up the deportations of Dr. Satyapal and Kitchlew, the prosecutions for sedition, and the action in the Jalianwala Bagh. All these things it defended or passed over when their offence was fresh. Now with India and England watching its every word and motion, it abandons its exculpated agents and gives nine-tenths of their case away. No moral authority now attaches to Lord Chelmsford's rule. Nor can either India or England restore what he has forfeited to both."

* * *

The All-India Congress Committee has elected Lala Lajapat Rai to preside over the Special Congress which will meet at Calcutta in September. Mr. Lajapat Rai is a well-known patriot of sterling independence and has endeared himself to the people by the sacrifice he has made and the sufferings he has undergone in his country's cause. The Special Congress, it is needless to say, has secured a worthy guide in him.

* * *

A communication from the Registrar, University of Madras, says that the Syndicate has resolved that question papers in Part I—English for the B. A. degree examination of 1921 will be set on the text-books prescribed for the examination of 1920 as well as those for the examination of 1921 so that candidates for the examination of 1920 will have the option of being examined in their own text-books. This, we need hardly say, is a concession which will be helpful to many a student.

* * *

The non-co-operation movement seems to have begun in right earnest. The 1st of August is to be a day of hartal; the Governor of Bombay has kindly promised to apply the provisions of the Seditious Meetings Act to Sindh if "the campaign of untruthful and inflammatory speeches which has now commenced in certain districts is persisted in;" two members, of the Bengal Legislative Council have resigned; Delhi has been declared a proclaimed area; a special session of the All-India Muslim league is to be held at Calcutta on 6th and 7th September; and Mr. Kasturirenga Aiyangar has refused to serve on the Committee organised for the reception of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales. Where will it all end?

* * *

The Non-Brahman movement seems to spread into Maharashtra also. H. H. The Maharajah of Kolhapur was present at the non-Brahman Conference held recently at Hubli. One of the speakers thus vented his feelings: "Co-operation with the Brahmans is an impossible task for the non-Brahmans. The attempts at co-operating with Brahmans in the past has proved a miserable failure. The Brahmans have all along been perfidious * * * To believe Brahmans would surely lead to non-Brahman annihilation. * * The country is not fit for Home Rule yet, which if granted now, will only result in all power becoming concentrated in the Brahmans. * * " The gospel of hatred can preach nothing worse! Brother non-Brahmans, do not play into the hands of Indian enemies.

* * *

The Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri delivered a lecture at Kumbakonam on the 25th instant. The Chairman Mr. S. Natesa Aiyar, President of the Local Taluk Board, was interrupted in his very opening speech. When he threatened that the aid of the police would be sought to eject the noisier elements of the audience, the hall became a pandemonium filled with most disgraceful scenes. Words came to blows, the police were called and a posse of 2 sub-Inspectors, 3 Head-constables, 20 Constables and the Town Sub-Magistrate turned up, and thus defended, Mr. Sastri continued his address. When he concluded he attributed the exhibitions of excessive exuberance on the part of the audience to the weaknesses and vices inseparable from the institutions copied from the West.

* * *

"The Indian Social Reformer" writes:—The langoti seems to be coming back in the 'civilised' form of 'shorts,' as a part of modern military uniform. We were rather shocked the other day—inured as we are to the sight—by a more than ordinarily stout pair of hairy thighs belonging, as the badge on the shoulders of their owner showed, to the Indian Medical Service, disporting themselves carelessly in a railway compartment with barely six inches of them covered by the khaki 'shorts' which revealed more than they concealed. We were sorry to see that the skin on these precious pair of thighs was brown. We have seen white officers with even more abbreviated 'shorts,' but is it necessary for the Indian to imitate their improprieties? Now that the war is over, there is absolutely no excuse for these childish garments and we hope that, if the military authorities do not see their way to prohibit them, the Police will take action under their powers to put down obscene exhibitions in public places.

* * *

It has been resolved to hold a special session on the 6th and 7th of September of the All-India Muslim League to consider the course of action to be taken by the Indian Moslems with regard to the outstanding questions in the country, along with the Indian National Congress at Calcutta.

* * *

A disastrous fire broke out on Thursday last in the Mulji Jetha Market in Bombay and destroyed twelve gullies and five hundred shops and resulted in a damage of one crore and a half.

The Hindu Message

The Dyer Debate in The House of Lords.

With feelings of deepest painfulness we are forced to record our impressions on the Dyer debate in the Lords which took place on July 19 and subsequent days. Politicians of a certain tenour of mind have already begun to doubt if under the present condition of things the British connection with India shall at all continue. Lord Curzon, the ablest British Indian Governor-General since the transfer of the administration of India from the Hon'ble United East India Company to the Crown of England, the creator, according to some, of anarchy in India, even he, has been unable to suppress his emotions. He prayed the House not to send "a message to India which would be a source of the greatest misapprehension." But the Lords would not heed. "None so blind as those that will not see." He at least was convinced that General Dyer's atrocious deeds at Jallianwala Bagh had impressed themselves indelibly upon the Indian mind and produced much of the trouble. His bitter Indian experiences consequent upon the ill-advised partition of Bengal had burnt into his soul and produced in him an unshakeable conviction that only upon certain principles could any administrator, civil or military, make his honourable stand. General Dyer's explanation of his action, viz., that he wished to produce sufficient moral effect, would entitle any officer to apply the maximum rather than the minimum degree of force, even when there might be no necessity for it. Supposing for a moment that such a doctrine was applied to the quelling of any civil riot in England, [a hartal is no riot] nay, more, supposing that such action was taken and even condoned later on, would any government stand even for a single day? The allegation that General Dyer saved the Punjab is mischievous to a degree. He no more saved the Punjab than that the "Big Four" have saved Turkey by dismembering the Ottomon Empire.

The published records of the enquiries made by the Punjab Congress sub-Committee tell their own harrowing tale; and yet, like his prototype Lord Morley who spoke on a previous occasion that the partition of Bengal was a "settled fact", Mr. Montagu would attribute the Punjab disturbances not to the tortuous extorsive misrule of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, not to the weakness and the incapacity of the central Government of the day in India, which gave Sir Michael (and he in his turn to General Dyer) a carte blanche, but to Mahatma Gandhi's instituting the Satyagraha movement. Both Mr. Montagu and his deputy Lord Sinha have gone the length of expressing that Mahatma Gandhi leads a movement which whether it be called Satyagraha or non-co-operation is bound to cause disastrous results and that Mr. Gandhi will have to suffer for the same. We believe that both the movements are idealistic and impracticable in the world of men and that they have been launched in the country too soon. But that is no reason why the Parliament should absolve itself of all responsibility for actions done or proposed to be done by the Government of India and the Provincial Governments, especially in the matter of dealing with Mr. Gandhi in any manner they choose. We can only warn the powers that be that any drastic action taken against the great saint, who leads a life of crystal purity, an ideal karma-yogi who would not think one thought and do a contrary action, would only court a serious breach of the peace in the present disturbed state of the country. In this connection we wish to point out that the way for satisfying the political aspirations of a subject people is not repression pure and simple. Nor will the doling out of reforms on a meagre scale coupled with the setting up of communal jealousies serve to make the so-called voiceless millions dumb. Edmund Burke spoke at the time of the French Revolution when Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette were murdered, "The age of chivalry is gone; that of sophisters, economists and calculators has succeeded, and the glory of Europe is extinguished for ever." O England, England, shouldst thou go so low as to condone the murderous deeds of one of thy unworthy sons who perhaps in a moment of weakness comitted a blunder, a rash crime! Thou who wouldst not tolerate the misdeeds of a Charles I, but would wreak terrible vengeance on him by depriving him of his very life, thou among whose children was the illustrious Lord Chatham who would not view with indiffereece the misdeeds of a George III in governing the land whither some of thy persecuted children had voluntarily exiled themselves so that they might be free to act according to the dictates of their conscience, thou who wentst to war with an aggressive Germany-thy children and her children are but cousins-because the rights of small nationalities were trampled under foot, and plunged not only thy children but thy subject people also in a terrible life-and-death-struggle from the effects of which they have not yet recovered and will not probably recover for a long time to come, shouldst thou condone the murderous deeds of the inhuman Dyer? We wish that the hands of the clock were turned back and that we lived in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries, when there lived great men who were not afraid to offer you honest advice in times of excitement, men of the stamp of William Pitt, Edmund Burke and William Ewart Gladstone. "Therefore," spoke Burke, on an eventful occasion, "has it with all confidence been ordered by the Commons of Great Britain that I impeach Warren Hastings of high crimes and misdemeanours. I impeach him in the name of the Commons House of Parliament whose trust he has betrayed. I impeach him in the name of the English nation whose ancient honour he has sullied. I impeach him in the name of the people of India whose rights he has trodden under foot and whose country he has turned into a desert. Lastly, in the name of human nature itself, in the name of both sexes, in the name of every age, in the name of every rank, I impeach the common enemy and oppressor of all." And yet the crimes of Warren Hastings fade into insignificance in the presence of the crimes of General Dyer. He never slaughtered innocent men, women and children in such large numbers.

That illustrious son of India, Rabindranath Tagore, the poet-laureate, who generally does not

descend to the low levels of newspaper politics, who felt it galling to adorn himself with the knighthood bestowed on him by a government capable of perpetrating the Punjab atrocities of 1919 and consequently renounced it, has sent the following message to India from distant London. 'Speaking with the deepest emotion he thanked India's English friends who braved the wrath of their countrymen and courted failure by chivalrously championing the cause of our unfortunate country. He felt grieved and insulted at the unashamed condonation of a brutal outrage by the very class from which our rulers are recruited. This makes us realise the futility and the humiliation of relying for any boon of any value from those who hold us in contempt. Only by removing the inner sources of weakness, organising our social, educational and economic life, can we rise out of our present depth of degradation. He exhorts us to be prepared for many sacrifices, to undergo suffering for the common cause, to sink differences of all kinds and to promote the spirit of concord and co-operation. The present shock of disillusionment if accepted in the right spirit will prove a blessing in disguise and form the basis of a new era of a career of national self-respect, spiritual emancipation and material progress. Only by freeing ourselves from the spirit of dependence and vengeful resentment can we rise to the true measure of greatness.'

So we see that in spite of the comradeship in arms during a period of England's bitter trial, in spite of the League of Nations, in spite of the recent Royal Proclamation, in spite of an Indian sitting in the Upper House of Parliament, India still occupies the position of a helot within the empire and her voice is unheard like that of one crying in the wilderness. Our cry is not for vengeance,—we leave it to Him who alone is capable of wielding the thunderbolt—but for justice. Nothing can bring the Amritsar dead back to life ; nothing can restore their limbs back to the Jallianwala Bagh maimed ; but a kind word to the injured, a tear of sympathy with the bereaved and the holding up to execration the inhuman mortals that dared to commit monstrous atrocities on their innocent human brethren is all that India yearns for. Is this the way that England is going to train us in the ways of self-government ? Is this the result of a century and a half of England's rule over the land of Bharata ? Are these the much-vaunted benefits of British rule in India ? If the proceedings in the Lords on the 19th is a specimen, surely it does not look hopeful so far.

The English are reputed to be a nation of shopkeepers ; now a shopkeeper is one who under any circumstances would always have an eye on the Profit and Loss Account. Does England hope to gain anything at least materially by thus condoning the actions of General Dyer ? We are emphatically of opinion that she cannot. In the words of Saint Nihal Singh, we shall only ask, "Shall India go Sinn Fein ?"

But Englishmen, at least some of them, do not yet seem to be convinced of their folly. Otherwise, would they organise a "Dyer Appreciation Fund" and in their madness call upon even Indians to subscribe for it ? Is this not adding insult to injury ? An illustrious Indian whose memory is cherished with feelings of great reverence not only in the land of his birth, but even by people in Europe and America, a shrewd observer of men, has thus recorded his impressions of the average Englishman. "We do not know the English people ; they do not know us. The Englishman with his skull a little thicker than those of other people—if he has once put an idea into his brain, it never comes out. His education is to hide his feelings and never to show them. From his childhood he has been educated up to that. Seldom will you find an Englishman manifesting feeling, nay, even an Englishwoman." Is this present exhibition then due to perversity ?

There could be no greater folly, no surer road to the estrangement of India than the attempt to perpetuate the name of Dyer. As Lord Sinha said in the House of Lords the sooner he and his deeds are forgotten the better for the mutual good relationship of England and India. But some Englishmen seem to be bent on blackening the fair name England. We deeply regret the lack of statesmanship exhibited in the House of Lords by the passing of Lord Finlay's resolution. But breathes there an Indian, dead to all sense of self-respect and patriotism, who, to whatever party in politics he may belong, would think of subscribing to the preposterous "Dyer Fund" ? Our blood boils at the very thought !!

Notes and Comments.

Mrs. Besant is the most unchangeable of her changeable sex. When her theosophical activities fell into bad odour some years ago, she at once transferred the bubbling energies of her perennial youth to politics, and rose to the giddiest heights of popularity and influence in that sphere of activity. Though there were some men of great talents even in South India who had done sustained and splendid work for the national cause, she easily superseded them all in the public esteem and captured within a very few months the Presidency of the Congress. The Indian mind is easily liable to obsession by colour-influences, and what so great and true and unwearied a worker for the land of his birth was unable to secure by years of loving devotion and inmeasurable personal sacrifices and sufferings on its behalf, Mrs. Besant easily captured by the momentary enchantment of her powers of gilded speech and by guerilla methods of agitation cleverly directed against all who could easily be made objects of dislike by appealing to the interests or passions of crowds. Again, she has lost her easily-gained precedence in Indian politics, and she has now gone back to her old love of Theosophy, and the country is ringing everywhere with the perfervid eloquence of her own voice and the passionate shouts of her docile and credulous flock acclaiming the early coming of the incarnate divinity, the chosen messenger of the Thibetan fraternity of Mahatmas, the whilom marvel and sensation of all South India,—the lad Alcyone, otherwise known as 'the Star of the East'. Mrs. Besant is a master both of objective and subjective methods of capturing gullible human flesh and fish which abound everywhere. Theosophical federations, confederations, conventions, conferences, &c., are coming on in endless succession and profusion. The "Star" propaganda is active everywhere and we may well look forward to a coming cycle in which the South Indian atmosphere will become irresistibly charged and suffused with all kinds of Theosophical distempers and with occult sensations known to readers of "The Link" and other journals catering to the minds of the gullibles and mystery-mongers everywhere.

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Even in a country like England where men are ever busy with the thoughts and energies which are directed to the exploitation of the world, there are not wanting "tender-minded" individuals who busy themselves with the experiences of the spirit-world. We daily hear of cases of levitation, thought-transference, and of communications between the living and dead. In all ages and climes, men have been known to be ready to believe in supernatural causes, but we have never had any proofs of their existence which can be accepted. The world has never wanted in abundance men ready to believe in any statement, however absurd,—even as it has had in abundance men who are ready to commit any frauds in order to gain personal advantages. In India, we have able conjurers of all sorts, and they help to augment the members of those who are credulously-minded. We fully believe that the spiritualistic phenomena which have a great deal of vogue today in England and other Western countries have their source in similar conditions of the human temperament. The so-called mediums through which spiritual communications take place are all women and men who share the temperament of women. The recent world-war produced a great stirring of human emotions among the men and women who lost or were in constant fear of losing their dear relatives in the fighting line. It is no wonder that supernatural activities have been abundant all over the West, and even among the practically-minded and irrepressibly-active and tough-souled people of England.

* * *

We have, no doubt, some men of high scientific attainments and practical tendencies in life who have given themselves away to spiritualistic beliefs. But even in their case, we have various circumstances calculated to produce abnormalities of disposition in regard to some matters of a purely personal import. Sir Oliver Lodge's account of his son Raymond can only be thus explained. He has written various books regarding telepathic communications between living men but none of the instances recorded by him are free from doubts, as his abnormal bias in favour of abnormal phenomena of mind has induced him to place implicit faith in mediums totally untrustworthy, who have taken advantage of his well-known views and sentiments on the subject. Similar explanations surely exist in the case of other believers in spiritualistic phenomena.

* * *

The question arises whether, in regard to the events of a seemingly supernatural character which are recorded in Indian sacred literature, we can similarly discard them as unreliable. We give a twofold reply. In the first place, the Hindu religion is one of a purely practical character. Every one born a Hindu is bound down to the performance of certain ceremonials and the utterance of certain sacred words and sentences with or without knowing their meaning. In the seeond place, we ascribe all extra-ordinary powers of certain men and all extraordinary events in the lives of them as recorded in our sacred books to what is known as 'Yoga—siddhis' the acquisitions of exalted mental attainment which are the result of the control of one's own mental powers leading to the control of natural phenomena and forces which are not within the cognisance of ordinary men. A Yogi who possesses the miraculous power of controlling nature by his 'siddhis' (or acquired powers) may, by his own will and initiative, produce various events. But to the ordinary man of the world, those events are like any other events though they are seemingly without any of the usual sequences of causation, and even occurring in violation of them. The truth is that there are still unexplored processes and regions of the human mind which the Yogis of India claim to have under their control. This may or may not be true, but ordidary men unacquainted with the practice of yoga can have no right to express an opinion regarding a matter of which they know nothing.

If we omit the supernatural record of events contained in our sacred books,—and no one is compelled on pain of expulsion to place faith in them—the circumstances in which we find the present generation of Hindus may not after all seem much worse of much better than those of society called Christian in Western lands. Credulity prevails everywhere, and everywhere has its origin in "coincidence, fraud, hysteria or hallucination." It has been well said that credulity is "begotten by faith upon ignorance." In India, the Veda has been recognised as the source of 'true religion and all worthy Hindu institutions. But the great disturbances to social life and true happiness come not from the institutions which have long been tried and stood the test of circumstances, but from the impostors who, from time to time, impose themselves on us as prophets, reformers and saviours. Their ideas strike us by their novelty, and their personalities usually attract us by their inexplicable charm. The great merit of the Vedic religion lies in its independence of, and even in its unwaving distrust of, all disturbing forces of a purely transient or momentary nature like the attraction of a personality or idea and its firm reliance on all the established sources of eternal truth. May our Hindu brethren ever retain their reverence for the eternal oracles which are the sources of all true knowledge (known as 'Pramanas) and also firmly cast off the new personalities and ideas which are brought over here only to speed us to our ruin by causing revolutionary disturbances or such dreadful racial admixtures as will destroy our Sanatana Dharma and our rich inheritance of spirituality.

Literary and Educational.

The Idea of Progress.

(From *The Times Literary Supplement.*)

(*concluded.*)

The last words of our two inquirers suggest that the belief in progress is on the way to being viewed with detachment, and perhaps dismissed with superiority. These, however, are not the feelings with which one reads the story of the idea as it is unfolded in Professor Bury's record; for it appears there less as a vaulting ambition than as an expression, slowly reached, of man's faith in his own destiny. It was the reply of human reason to one shock of change after another. This provides what we have called its dramatic value; and not the least interest of Professor Bury's book is that he brings that movement into light. The idea of progress was the refuge men discovered when the idea of Providence was shaken. Only after the old scheme of the universe, centered round the earth, had been shattered by the new astronomy did it take definite form. It was more than a coincidence that Fontenelle, the first popularizer of astronomy, was also the first dogmatist of progress. The impulse to make a shelter against an indifferent universe repeated itself in the nineteenth century. Darwinism struck a final blow at man's privileged status: he was no longer the isolated lord of his own planet. With an unbeaten optimism he wrested triumph out of this discovery; and the moment when he was apparently reduced to his lowest terms was the one when progress was confidently affirmed as a universal law by Spencer. The idea evolves in a typically human way; it is easy to say that it was all too human. But being human ourselves, we must feel a sympathy and admiration for this resourceful optimism, even if we have a lurking suspicion of its fallacy.

The thought of progress expresses man's determination to perfect his earthly home, and this secular idealism has linked it at every turn with science. Sometimes under compulsion, somtimes with adventurous pride, it has followed the victories of knowledge. The application of science to human needs has been its keenst stimulus, and the belief reached its highest pitch of confidence with the rise of modern industry. But it looks for confirmation beyond applied science to the science which judges and ratifies impartially. There, so far as we have come, it has got no final answer. All the later chapters of Professor Bury's book record this search for a law of progress, and the upshot is that it has never yet been found. Comte, the most determined seeker, failed to discover it. Evolutionism has failed in its turn. "Always towards perfection," wrote Spencer, "is the mighty movement"; but the promised equilibrium between man and nature seems frustrated because both factors change per-

petually. Instead of a law of progress we are really given a law of change.

So we fall back from the assumption that progress must occur to the more modest but still elusive question of how far it actually has occurred. Perhaps it is a mark of the hour that this question can be guilelessly put. We will not venture to say whether Dr. Inge, in the very characteristic pages which he devotes to the matter, is entirely without guile. But we may quote one passage from him as being difficult to refute, and at the same time typical of his incisive phrasing: —

It is also an unproved assumption that the domination of the planet by our own species is a desirable thing, which must give satisfaction to its Creator. We have devastated the loveliness of the world; we have exterminated several species more beautiful and less vicious than ourselves; we have enslaved the rest of the animal creation, and have treated our distant cousins in fur and feathers so badly that beyond doubt, if they were able to formulate a religion, they would depict the Devil in human from. If it is progress to turn the fields and woods of Essex into East and West Ham, we may be thankful that progress is a sporadic and transient phenomenon in history. It is a pity that our biologists, instead of singing pæans to Progress and thereby stultifying their own speculations, have not preached us sermons on the sin of racial self-idolatry, a topic which really does arise out of their studies. "L'anthropolatric, voila l'eunemi" is the real ethical motto of biological science, and a valuable contribution to morals.

As a chastening of the blinder human egotism this is deserved; and yet somehow the vigour of the Dean's last words almost gives the impression, which he did not mean to give, that he dislikes the human race as well as anthropolatry.

More vital, perhaps, than the qusstion as to what man has made of nature is the question what he has made of himself. Dr. Inge does not agree with those who from Roussseau to Edward Carpenter, have despaired of the works of civilization. He admits that our discoveries and accumulations of knowledge are of great value. But this he believes to be the only real advance; of moral improvement he is very sceptical. It is not certain, as he says, that when we are exposed to the same temptations as our predecessors we show ourselves less brutal and more just. Even the men who abolished West Indian slavery tolerated at home an industrial slavery of men, women and children which was worse than the condition of the negroes. But since then the obligations of humanity have been more widely recognised. It is likely that the spirit of unselfish succour and devotion rose to a higher point in the war than it had reached in any other struggle. The same page of 'The Times' on which Dr. Inge's lecture was printed contained a great appeal for the starving Armenian children, and at the same date a body of starving "enemy" children from Austria found refuge here. Against the general recrudescence of hate may be set the conception of the League of Nations, the most definite sign that has yet been given of men's desire to live in peace and amity.

We may look at the case in another way. Democracy, which for many minds is the evidence of progress, has been often handled severely by Dr. Inge; and on any showing there are more problems before it than it has solved. The historian, in his phrase, may be a natural snob; we have too little respect for the ideas which preceded the idea in possession. Yet democracy certainly witnesses to a quickened sense in humanity for the rights of all. A new social conscience prompted the doctrine of equality which inspired, although disastrously, the Revolution in France. The equalitarians, from Rousseau to Lenin, have shown small regard for personal freedom; and our revolutionaries have still to learn the truth in Bentham's saying, that all men have equal rights, but not to equal things. But democracy marks an essential stage in human progress by insisting that all men should have the chance to make the best of themselves. This is a truth which must outlive its perversions into equal servitude. For freedom, in the last analysis, is not mere absence of restraint, but the opportunity of each to develop for the good of all; and this recognition has only been made effective with the coming of democracy. It is because the social concience has so widened that we may believe we are on the way towards a better commonwealth.

But one cannot go far into such comparisons without a feeling that they are unprofitable. There is little to be gained, for instance, by following Dr. Inge into his contrast between the physique of existing Europeans and that of the old Cro-Magnon race, or of the surviving Tahitians and Zulus. The defect in the notion of progress, which involves both its critics and adherents, is that what we most want to measure is unmeasurable. The gains of knowledge and the reform of abuses can be generally weighed and assessed, though in making the estimate we never escape from the spirit of our time. But the strength of ideals, the sum of happiness, and the coherence between men and their environment, on which happiness depends, are matters that soon elude the scale of balances. Progress is an empty vessel till it has been filled with our ideals, and it cannot even be imagined except in terms of some value beyond itself. To these values beyond change and time Dr. Inge conducts us, true to the spirit of his thought, and with a reminder that progress may be missed if it is aimed at too directly. Many of those who have done most for the enhancement of life have not been, in the hackneyed sense of the word, progressives. Reformers have worked without a thought of the millennium and even with an indifference to the world's changes. Mystics, philosophers, artists and men of science have passed beyond sense and time to an impalpable world which they found by their insight or creation. Even in the act of living we are frustrated if we enslave ourselves to time. It is a truer wisdom to expand the present than to contract it to a dot before the future. For the same imagination which draws the past and the future into our present, and makes them live there, can lift the present itself above its time-fetters and convey a sense of the eternal.

The world of spirit, which holds all the highest values that progress tries to realize, is, in Dr. Inge's words, always open to individuals. He does not think that its threshold will ever be crowded, and for this reason his view of the general march of humanity is modest. Indeed a critical estimate of human nature is not the only thought which tells against the certainty of progress. Science, with its picture of the birth and death of worlds throughout the universe, and history, recording the civilizations which have flowered and died in the short passage since its register began, support rather than disprove the Greek idea of cycles. But man, whose lot is cast in time, must meet temporal change with a temporal virtue, which is hopefulness. Renan's reflection that we are bound to arrive somewhere might console that amiable genius who described his life as a charming walk across reality; but for the mass of men it will not do They need an assurance from results, and therein they differ only by a degree from the philosophers. Dr. Inge himself acknowledges that we shall not have made our ideals our own unless we can make them tell on our environment. This insistance on facts that will verify and attest our feelings is characteristically European. It has been fortified by practical business, by adventurous action, and by the social fervour in which revolutions have stumbled towards the light. And so long as we feel the will and power to mould our surroundings, the impulse to progress will not die.

For it may well survive as an impulse in the heart after it has ceased to be the dominant ideal and long after it has lost the assurance of a certainty. The core of the idea is its emphasis on realization. It is not so much the height of the ideal, as the resolution that our ideals, whatever they are, shall be translated into practice, which makes the vital force of the motive. There it well harmonizes with an age which no longer divorces spirit from matter, and so has found means to reconcile those two old enemies, science and religion. And there, too, it has a function as the counterpart of individual aspiration. Ideals are purified and heightened by the individuals who have mounted in the world of spirit; progress is the mundane task by which the race gives them accomplishment. They may be debased there but they may be also widened, and we cannot say that one region is alien from the other. The hope of progress lies in the collective

effort of humanity, which as yet is hardly conscious of its oneness and has not imagined what it might perform if it worked with one purpose and together. And the test of progress will be whether, in these larger efforts, individual lives are deepened or stultified by the life of the species.

Social and Religious.

Reconciliation of All Religions.

BY SWAMI DAYANAND.

The aims of all the religions of the world is the realisation of the Divine. This realisation assures freedom from pain so common to mortal life. By the power of intuition man becomes conscious of his divine nature, and every religion instituted by man has the one goal of reaching the Most High in spirit, which results in the natural emancipation from bondage. The yearning for this emancipation begins in a feeble way in the semi-civilised heart, but as civilization and refinement grow more effective, more and more definite forms come to be prescribed for the purpose of the emancipation. The forms do vary, but the goal is the same.

From the materialistic yearnings, a new road comes to be opened to the soul in a high psychology (yoga) by which, an opening is made into the road to the Divine. The gross body is formed to be as but the husk round the grain of the spirit, and the realisation of the power and permanence of the latter urges thought and action towards making it one's own.

The Indian mind intuitively perceiving this possibility determined a regular course of life to be followed for the realisation of that goal. The outer form of the course will be found to depend on the surroundings in which each section or individual of humanity stands situated, forms, even mutually antagonistic, will be found prescribed in the scripture for the advancement of particular cases.

But the goal is one, the realization of the Divine. Religious systems belonging to the present, past or the future, and any part of the world will find themselves duly formulated and supported in the all-embracing Indian Religion. Many religions there are, whose votaries have a spirit of discord against other creeds than their own. Sanatana Dharma of India does not disown any creed whatever, and finds no cause for difference and discord. There is a place for every grade in the scale.

All prophets, all revelations, all liturgies have their due place assigned to them in the Indian Continent of Religions. Names differ, but that matters little, the goal being one and the same. The idea of God as a personal being, is represented in the various godhoods in the Indian Religion. God the Judge, is represented by Yama; God the Creator is represented by Brahma; God the Preserver is represented by Vishnu; God the Destroyer is represented by Siva; In this way, Iswara and Virat and Brahman are definite representations of different conceptions of godhood in various religions. The five-fold forms of qualified Brahman unknown in other religions involve a masterly philosophy leading to realization of Godhood by the path of worship.

In Christianity, Judaism and Muhammadanism the personal formless God will find corresponding presentation in the Trimurti—Brahma, Vishnu, Shiva—alluded before. There could be no variance between the beliefs of our non-Hindu brothers and our own, if we properly understand each other.

Buddha-deva of Buddhism, and Rishava-deva of Jainism are admitted as Divine incarnations amongst the Hindus. The theory of Avatars (incarnation) is almost identical. The Buddhists and Jains consider avatars to be perfected men, while the Hindus accept a long gradation of avatars assumed by Vishnu or Siva out of the Great Triad.

The law of Karma (action) as propounded in the philosophy of Hinduism is admitted in the same strain by these two ancient creeds. The details of the law have only been worked out in the former. They have similar faith in the world (Daivi Jagat) also. The practical principles of the four systerms of Yoga are equally recognised by the savants of both these creeds in some form or other. The guru (the section about the knowledge) of Buddhism has also followed to some extent the same principle as obtaining in our seven planes of knowledge. The fundamental differences between Hinduism and those two creeds lie only in the adoption of Varnashrama Dharma (the system of 4 castes and stages of life) by the former as its special Dharma.

The section on "Worship in all its Phases" includes all gradation from fetish worship and the worship of the dead and demon worship of uncivilised communities to the highest abstraction of the worship of Brahman, the one without a second. The ideal of any religion under this head will find its proper place in this system.

The section on Love dealt with in Hindu scripture will be duly appreciated by our Christian and Mahammadan brothren in the aspect of love of God peculiar to their own religions.

Our doctrine of re-incarnation finds a place in the philosophical systems of our Buddhist, Jain, and Zoroastrian brethren.

The antagonism of the Evil spirit to the Holy Spirit common to Zoroastrianism, Christianity, Judaism, Muhammadanism etc., is explained in a rational and intelligible way in the descriptions of the war between the Devas and Asuras, in the Hindu religions.

Heaven and Hell mentioned in other 'religions' are explained in full detail in the various grades in the section on 'The Occult World.'

The reward and punishment for the good and evil deeds of this Life after Divine Judgement, recognized in other religions, are also explained in clear detail in some religions which do not recognize rebirth but recognize one universal day of judgment for all souls. This very limited view is enlarged upon in detail in the description of the conditions of the Soul after death, as realized in the various higher and lower spheres.

The fundamental likeness of all religions in respect of the Goal to be reached has been made clear in the foregoing part. The fundamental difference will be found to subsist in the matter of Achara and Varnashramadharma. It has already been pointed out that the external situation of individuals as also their mental constitution is the basis of the practical side of each religion. In the Indian religion this principle has been considered from its crudest shape to its extreme perfection, and it has been adopted to whole classes and grades of humanity falling within the pale of Hindu influence. The circumstances of other lands have led to modified forms in this direction and owing to their very imperfection no formal regulations, nor definite ideals, have been prescribed in their practices. This difference, however, does not imply any sort of antagonism. It is a question of priority or posteriority in one and the same line of progress, the progress of the soul from matter to spirit. And it has been many times shown before that the Indian religion, Sanatana Dharma, is the storehouse of well-arranged spiritual principles with corresponding practical regulations. If these are imperfectly concerned and vaguely formulated and only suggestive in their character in other religions, that is a matter of mere accident; it means no real difference between them. The fact is Achara is a matter intimately connected with the gross body, and Varnashramadharmas are connected with the occult side of the world. Although we find signs of the functions of these special Dharmas in all other advanced societies of the world, yet no doubt those are the special Dharmas of India. The Indians believe that the organisation of Varnashramadharma ever gets help from the occult world. In the case of other religions the function of these Dharmas are not wholly lost sight of; but either short sight or inconvenient external

surroundings, or inaccessibility to the light of knowledge that shines forth only in one place, and takes time to circulate to distant parts— drawbacks like these act materially in limiting the view of the savants of the non-Indian religions. The conclusion we wish to arrive at is embodied in the following all-comprehensive suggestion.

All religions essentially aim at a common goal. All their earnest teachers have a perfect universal sympathy and wish therefore to guide the whole of humanity according to their light. If the followers of these seers meet at a common place of study in religious matters a perfect mental understanding would result to the great benefit of mankind all over the world. A nucleus of the world's religious university is neither impossible nor impracticable and it will not be too bold on our part if we suggest to all civilised nations of the world that they join in the organisation of such a world comprehending institution for the promotion of religious thought and the achievement of humanity's ultimate goal. As a crude conception of the practical side of this idea, we would suggest the formation of a Hall of World's Religions, supplied with the necessary appertenances, such as a complete Library, helpful to the comparative and scientific study of Religion and Philosophy. There should be opportunities of mutual exchange of thought and popular lectures contributing to the advancement of spirituality in the general mass of mankind. Minor suggestions may also be made regarding the religious ideas peculiar to the representations of the various religions. Separate places of worship suited to the ideal of each, a common or special free kitchen for all earnest workers.

If after the comprehensive treatment of liberal view about humanity's religious life given in the foregoing pages, a doubt should yet arise as to the possibility of the leading representatives of all the important religious meetings on a common platform of peace and holiness, we quote the following reply in substantce from the Upanishads to such doubt, and follow it up with quotations from the teachings of the seers and holy men of great religions.

Says the Upnishad: Just as the ups and downs, hills and dales, planes and valleys, seas and rivers, the tall and the stunted, appear to the man walking on the earth's surface but that all such inequalities merge into the flat level in the eye of an observer up in the sky travelling in an air boat; so insignificant, negligible differences in various religions vanish with the man who has got knowledge, and who rises superior to the consciousness of the opposites.

We hold that the earnest seekers of truth in all religions will never differ from others. We will give an idea of some common thoughts realised by the Seers of the great religions of the world, and will show how the advanced Seers of each religion take one and the same view of some final truths:—

Corresponding to our divisions of Bhakti the following view Bhakti of Mohammadan saints gives 11 phases:

There are eleven stages of love, of which the first is Mowafikat, the second Maal, the third Mowanisat, the fourth Mowadat, the fifth Hawa, the sixth Khullat, the seventh Muhabbat, the eighth Shagi, the ninth Haim, the tenth Welah, the eleventh Ishq.

1. Mowafikat is that in which the soul turns away from the self, the Satn and the world (which brings forgetfulness of the Beloved) and gets attached to the friends of the Beloved.

2. Maal is that in which the spiritual heart inclines to the Beloved and shuns everything other than the Beloved.

3. Mowanisat is that in which we hanker after the Beloved gradually abstaining from all material things. Whoever has an attachment to God keeps aloof from all but God.

4. Mowaddat is that in which the spiritual heart is attracted towards the Beloved through its purification by humble supplication in solitude.

5. Hawa is that in which the heart is always in commmunication with the Beloved.

6. Khullat is that in which the being is filed with the love of the Beloved and is freed from the thoughts of any but the Beloved.

7. Muhabbat is that in which the spiritual heart is freed of all evil qualities, and is fully possessed of Divine qualities.

Legal.

The Judiciary.

By R. Krishnaswami Aiyar, M.A. B.L.,

III

The orthodox Hindu community of this Presidency has after all managed to shake off its usual suicidal lethargy and voiced forth in the recent Provincial Varnashrama Dharma Conference held at Tinnevely its feelings on the several vital questions of the day which threaten its very existence. In particular, I am glad that my view of the functions of the judiciary as enunciated in the last two articles has found acceptance at the hands of the conference. If I may say so, this protest against the introduction of extralegal considerations in judicial pronouncements has not come too soon but has long been over due. For even as early as 1913 Mr. Justice Sadasiva Aiyar has given expression to his views in these significant words in his judgment in the case of Mariappa Nadan *vs.* Vaithilinga Mudaliar reported in 1913 Madrae Weekly Notes page 247. "Speaking for myself, I think that while the function of courts is no doubt, 'to ascertain, to compare, to explain and ratify' the statute, the customary and the common laws and not to create laws, courts could not be wholly deprived of the power of moving slowly with the better sense of the Hindu community which is changing its customs for the better in accordance with the dictates of its authoritative ancient religious texts.........The courts and the legislature need not surely be as unprogressive 'as the inert mass of the lower strata of society' though they need not advance with as much rapidity as the active and intelligent minds in the community 'who represent and create opinion'."

I need scarcely point out the various assumptions which the above statements contain viz that it is the "better sense of the Hindu community" that is changing its customs, that the change is "for the better," that the change is "in accordance with the dictates" of religious texts and so on. The unsoundness of the learned Judge's

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standpoint has been clearly pointed out by Mr. Justice Spencer in the following case.

In Srinivasa Iyengar *vs.* Tiruvengadathiengar reported in 1913 Madras Weekly Notes page 1034, Their Lordships Sundara Aiyar and Sadasiva Aiyar had to consider the question how far the marriage Samskara is obligatory on a Hindu. At page 1038, Sundara Aiyar J says "The first defendant has no right to compel the plaintiff to abjure marriage and to become either a Naishtika Brahmachari or a Sanyasi. The plaintiff has the right to become a Grihasta and to live the life which is ordained for Barahmins in general; marriage is an indispensible ceremony (*avasyam kartavyam*) for all except the most spiritually advanced persons. The family property should provide the means for such an initiatory ceremony. There can, at any rate, be no doubt that marriage is regarded as a most proper ceremony for every Hindu. This is sufficient to justify the plaintiff's claim for a provision for his marriage...Modern custom is undoubtedly in favour of allowing the provision. In deciding what ceremonies are regarded as proper and necessary regard should be had in my opinion to the sentiments of the community especially where there is a difference of opinion among text writers."

Sadasiva Aiyar J, however, at page 1043 lays down: "That the marriage of males is not considered an indispensible Samskara is clear to me after a perusal of several of the ancient shastraic books. The late Dewan Bahadur Raghunatha Row, a very learned, accurate and unprejudiced Sanskrit scholar, has, in my opinion, conclusively shown in his works that marriage both for males and females is optional and not obligatory. The late Mr. Justice Krishnaswami Aiyar while inclined to attach great importance to the Vivaha ceremony (Sre Kameswara Sastri *vs.* Veeracharlu, 34 Madras 422) admits that the Jabala Upanishad, Manu, Yajnavalkya and Mitakshara lay down that a Hindu can go straight from the Brahmacharya stage after Upanayana to the Sanyasashrama stage without having been a Grihasta and having had the Vivaha Samskara if he has conquered his animal passions during the Brahmacharya stage. (Yadahareva Viramet Jadahareva Pravrajet)...Marriage is only a Vikalpa Vidhi and it is not a Nitya and Apurva Vidhi. It is either a Niyama Vidhi or is only a Parisankhya Vidhi. Even Chandravarkar J in Sundarabai *vs.* Shivanarayana, 32 Bombay 81, does not state that marriage is always obligatory but only that it might 'become obligatory' in the cases and for the reasons he has set forth (page 93, 1st line). As regards the texts quoted by Krishnaswami Aiyar J which ordain that a man should discharge his three (or five) debts and that he should procreate sons by marriage to discharge one of those debts viz the debt due to his Pitris, there are numerous passages in the shastras to show that when real Vairagya is obtained and real undivided devotion to the Supreme Lord, the debts to Devas, Rishis, Bhootas, Aptas, fellowmen and Pitris all become non existent and completely discharged and on the very day such Vairagya and devotion are obtained that very day you should give up the worldly life......In these days when it is deemed essential to postpone the marriage of boys till their edudation is completed, I am not prepared to allow any monies for the future marriage of a minor boy to be set apart several years before the marriage is likely to take place. The making of such provision will be the holding out of a temptation to the boy and his widowed mother to hasten the marriage before he completes his education and such early marriages are utterly opposed to the Shastras......I wish to add that in these times when the giving of Varasulkam is so rampant, it is very problematical that any expenses need at all be incurred for a boy's marriage when he comes of marriageable age and on that ground also I should hold that the allowance of Rs. 150 to the minor plaintiff for his marriage expenses is based on a remote speculative necessity. In this case, the plaintiff is only a boy five years old and to speculate about his marriage and his marriage expenses now seem to me to be a great deal premature. [It is a wonder that the speculation about the boy's turning out to be a Virakta did not strike the learned Judge as a great deal more premature]. In the result, I would modify the lower court's decree by deleting the provision made in it to the extent of Rs. 150 for the plaintiff's marriage, plaintiff being a child five years old, his marriage if it takes place at all in future, having to be postponed till he is 24 according to the shastras, it being problematical whether his marriage instead of entailing expense may not even be a source of pecuniary benefit to him when it occurs and the Hindu Law contemplating the expenses up to Upanayana alone being set apart at the time of division for the benefit of uninitiated brothers.

Owing to this difference of opinion between their Lordships, the matter was referred to a third Judge Mr. Justice Spencer. His Lordship's Judgment is reported in 1914 Madras Weekly Notes page 282. The sound and practical common sense with which he tackled the question will be apparent from the follwing extracts:

"Instances of a man becoming a Sanyasin without passing through the stage of Grihastrashrama appear to be so exceptional that it seems hardly necessary at partition to contemplate the possibility of the abnormal happening. In this connection I may quote the words of Krishnaswami Aiyar J in 34 Mad. p. 422 at p. 428. He says. Except for him who has thus qualified for entry direct into other Ashrama's state that of the householder the stage of householder is practically compulsory' and at p. 430, 'both the commentators of Manu and the commentators of Yajnavalkya have come to the conclusion after a full discussion of Sruti and Smriti texts that the stage of householder is obligatory on all the twice born. But to those who have pursued the path of non-attachment, Naishtika Brahmacharya or perpetual studentship or entry from studenship into the stage of the hermit or ascetic direct is open...The considerations of expediency which appear in the Judgment of Sadasiva Aiyar J do not much appeal to me, unless they can be supported by the sacred texts or established custom. For such considerations there is generally much to be said on the other side to balance or outweigh them. The learned judge's observation that a provision for marriage will serve as a temptation to the boy and his widowed mother to hasten the marriage before he completes his education and that such early marriages are utterly opposed to the shastras does not seem to me to be a sufficient reason for altogether withholding such a contribution from family funds. Principles cannot be created out of particular cases in which the unfortunate results have ensued...I doubt whether the evil of early marriages can be prevented by judicial pronouncements anticipating a change in popular opinion. Again the learned judge remarks that the practice of Varasulkam being on the increase may obviate any expenditure being incurred on the boy's side. So long as the boy's parents have as a general rule to incur some expenses at his marriage, I should hesitate to describe the allowance for marriage expenses a 'remote speculative necessity.' In the judgment of Sadasiva Aiyar J, Vivaha is refferred to as a ceremony performed after the man has attained his majority and depends on his own will and option. It may be true that a man who has overcome his passions can attain salvation without marriage...We may safely be guided by what is considered normal and proper. I would therefore be inclined to take the view that marriage expenses may be 'necessary expenses' although salvation can be obtained without marriage. It does not follow that because a man in exceptional circumstances can attain salvation without passing through the stage of Grihastasramam, marriage which is introduction to that stage is not a necessary ceremony for the ordinary man... On the broad footing that marriage is a Samskara, that it is not usual to omit it and that it is necessary that Samskaras should be performed out of family funds when such exist, I would allow this charge."

Contemporary Opinion.

The Dyer Debate in the Lords.

THE LOOKER-ON, CALCUTTA, WRITES:—

THE LORDS' FOLLY.

The Amritsar Debate in the House of Lords has given the European Association and its organs in Calcutta and Allahabad to chortle vastly. But the eight thousand members of the European Association set too high a value on the Lords' vote. The week's insult to our intelligence has been handed out by the *Englishman* which solemnly assured India that the Peers formed a body of opinion generally regarded as the most fair-minded and honest in the Empire. But every Indian knows, as one was quick to assure me, that the House of Lords to-day is nothing but a debating society where opinions and votes cut absolutely no ice in political England. However seriously the Lords take themselves, their views cannot affect either the Cabinet, or the Cabinet's Indian policy. Indeed, a verdict by the Oxford Union were of more moment than one by the collection of relics of mediaevalism whose complete extinction is not far off, and who will be abolished when the first Labour Ministry comes into power. The Lords' verdict on the Amritsar affair is only one of many nails which the Upper House is assiduously driving into its coffin. But to hear the European Association chuckle, one might fancy that the opinion of half a hundred not too intelligent Tories is destined to annul the considered verdict of the British Cabinet (including Lord Curzon so dear to the heart of the Die-hard) the India Office, the Government of India, the Army Council, the Commander-in-Chief in India and the Hunter Committee of experts.

TROUBLE AHEAD.

In the meantime, trouble continues to brew in India, and it is typical of the shortsightedness of the reactionary that he should choose just the period when the forces of Nationalism are organizing for a supreme agitatory effect, to induce mutual bitterness in India between European and Indian. Had non official and official European India, been honest, fair-minded and unprejudiced in the matter of General Dyer's "error," there would have been few misgivings in my mind as I contemplated the future. But because Miss Florence Holland and the other hysterical correspondents to the daily papers have been allowed to work on the passions of both communities, I am not nearly as sanguine as I might have been. I can only imagine that the conductors of the reactionary press in India, the Secretary of the European Association, and the correspondents to the papers have no idea as to the violent hostility and distrust of the British sense of fair play and justice which their agitation is engendering in the breast of every self-respecting Indian. And *every* Indian to-day is self-respecting. It cannot be too strongly impressed on the reactionaries, that the days when Indians as a mass would sooner side with the paramount power against their own countrymen, have gone—never to return. So that references to the support of what are called "loyal Indians" (the inference being that the resenting of race-arrogance, or a desire for Self-Government is disloyalty in an Indian, however praiseworthy it may be in an Englishman or a Colonial) are very futile and merely designed to mislead. The very claim by General Dyer's supporters that the General suppressed an incipient rebellion supports my contention of widespread discontent and resentment in India, and because discontent cannot be where cause is none, surely it is a wiser policy to look the facts squarely in the face, as Mr. Montagu and the Government of India have done, and to make concessions where such are needed—than to rattle the sabre and talk of suppression. The British Empire has too many powerful and unscrupulous enemies among the nations to risk further discontent, sedition, and revolt in India—which state of things merely strengthens the power for evil of our enemies.

The Amritsar Debate.

The London *Times* writes:—

In the House of Commons yesterday, Mr. Churchill announced the decision of the Army Council in regard to the Report of the Hunter Committee on the disturbances in the Punjab, and to-day the whole matter will be the subject of debate. At the time of their publication we reviewed the findings of the Committee and expressed our judgment upon them. We held that the dispatch of the *Secretary of State for India* was the most important of the documents then made public, since it was in fact a definite and very careful pronouncement of the view of the Cabinet. We considered it "severely impartial "and conceived in a lofty judicial spirit." On the evidence before the public we were compelled to endorse the condemnation of Brigadier-General Dyer's conduct which it expressed. We have no reason to alter the view than taken of the tragic excess of that officer's actions at the Jallianwala Bagh, and we are not surprised that the Army Council have endorsed our attitude. It appeared to us that a highly-placed soldier, confronting a difficulty which demanded the coolest and most balanced judgement, failed to display that quality. After nearly two days' cessation of active insurgency on the part of the native population, he led armed troops to an attack upon an unarmed crowd, to which he gave no immediate warning and allowed no opportunity for dispersal. This action by itself gave an impression of recklessness, which Brigadier-General Dyer's own evidence failed to remove. The situation no doubt demanded strong action, and no doubt Brigadier General Dyer conceived it to be his duty to do what he did: but his professed intention to create a moral effect throughout the Punjab was, in our view, indefensible, while the massacre which followed his order would require a justification for which we have searched the records of the occurrence in vain.

Moreover, when we consider the "crawling" command, subsequently revoked under superior orders, we were compelled to hold that the British tradition of equanimity and restraint, which has ever upheld our prestige in India, suffered a lamentable betrayal at the hands of Brigadier-General Dyer. Furthermore, the careful reader of the Hunter Report will have compared the methods adopted at Lahore on April 10 and April 12 with those which caused the scandal at Amritsar. At Lahore a mob which deliberately attacked the police—not a mere meeting—was fired on; but police only armed with smooth-bore rifles, were employed. One man was killed and twenty wounded. The story presents a sharp and significant contrast to that of the Jallianwala Bagh. The Government censure which has very rightly fallen upon Brigadier General Dyer has, we hope, served to restore the reputation of British justice in the eyes of India. If it has, we believe it to be eminently desirable that the whole un-happy business should cease to be a subject of heated and fruitless contention in that country and in this. But since the question has arisen in Parliament, which stands as the exemplar of British justice in Indian eyes, and since it is the subject of abundant public interest in this country, we find it necessary, in the fulfilment of our duty, to reiterate a view which we hold strongly, and to remind our readers of a great principle of government which we believe to have been monstrously perverted at Amritsar.

The British Raj in India rests no longer, if indeed it ever rested, upon military force, or upon a diplomatic equipoise of opposing interests. The Great War has forced in a few years an advancement in human thought that would, in the normal course of the world, have taken decades to accomplish. The growth of the ideal of nationality, freed by the breaking of many ancient fetters, has not been confined to Europe; it has expanded swiftly over Asia. But concurrently with this growth the enfranchised democracy of this country has become conscious of Imperial responsibilities which were once the interests of the few. The newer conceptions of the rights of European peoples embrace also the subject-

races of our far possessions. For an Empire based on organized force or organized commerce the people of this country have substituted, in their own minds, the conception of a British Commonwealth founded on the willing co-operation of free peoples. That they have done so is, in our opinion, no small vindication of our national repute for genius in government. Nevertheless such an ideal, though it be the lodestone of true statesmanship, is not everywhere to be immediately achieved; and its consistent pursuit must necessarily spell many difficulties and involve many problems. The period of transition in the case of a country such as India will demand faith and high purpose from our people, and patient courage from their rulers. Moreover, the difficulties are all the greater because the rate of progress has been accelerated by the war. In the past history of our rule in Hindustan we have little cause for regret and none for shame. The character of our people has been subjected in the East for centuries to those temptations to which so many empires have succumbed. Such temptations have been proudly resisted. No finer traditions than those of our Indian services have been exemplified in our history. Yet great as these traditions are, the countries which we have served and instructed are now attaining to a fuller development, and there has arisen, in a new degree, the need for that rare and lofty quality which can sustain a continuity of greatness through inevitable and possibly unwelcome change. If we are to continue to hold India, we can only do so by the good will of the Indian peoples, secured by our own past record and sealed by our proved capacity to adjust our rule to the progress of the world. Events like those at Amritsar will obscure our national purpose and betray the ideals which inspire it, unless Parliament take the present occasion to affirm those principles upon which alone our Eastern Empire can stand four-square against any storm that may gather against it.

Miscellaneous.

Gold Sovereigns.

Many misunderstandings have apparently arisen regarding the action recently taken by the Government of India in respect of gold sovereigns and the Publicity Bureau has received many requests to issue at once an explanation of the unexpected rice in the price of a sovereign. The following explanation is therefore issued. It is based on the information available in Madras and has been prepared in consultation with the Accountant-General and the Professor of Indian Economics.

It will be remembered that in June the Government of India notified that they had cancelled the rule under which all creditors including the Government were bound to accept a gold sovereign as the equivalent in value of Rs. 15. At the same time they announced that they intended to introduce into the Legislative Council a Bill under which all creditors and the Government should be bound to accept a gold sovereign as equivalent in value to Rs. 10. Further they withdrew all restrictions on the import of gold bullion into India, They also notified that, after a certain date. i.e the 12th July 1920, the restrictions on the import of sovereigns into India would be removed. Lastly they notified that they were prepared to give at the Currency Office a sum of Rs. 15 in notes for every gold sovereign paid in at the Currency Offices up to the 12th July.

What was the object of Government in promising to pay Rs. 15 for every sovereign paid in at the Currency Offices up to the 12th July? A rumour says it is to get gold to send to America. This rumour is evidently foolish as will appear from the following fact. The Government have been and are still selling large quantities of gold in India fortnightly by tender and the price which they have been receiving is between Rs. 13 and Rs. 14 per sovereign. It is evident that if Government had wished to send gold from India to America they would not have offered to pay R. 15 for a sovereign while they were selling gold in India at a rate of less than Rs. 14 per sovereign. The real reason why Government offered to change sovereigns at the Currency Office for Rs. 15 was to prevent the holders of sovereigns from suffering a loss. Many of the holders of sovereigns must have received the sovereigns under the old rule by which they were bound to receive the sovereigns as being equal to Rs. 15 in value. When they cancelled this rule the Government saw that it was likely that the price of sovereign would fall for the following reasons:—

1. The price whidh they had received for the gold sold by them under the tender system in India was less than Rs. 14 per sovereign,
2. The price of gold in foreign countries was less than Rs. 10 a sovereign,
3. They had removed all restrictions on the import of gold from abroad.

For these reasons it appeared probable that the price of a gold sovereign would drop below Rs. 15. In order to save the holders of sovereigns from loss they therefore gave them an opportunity of changing their sovereign for Rs. 15 at the Currency Office.

But as a matter of fact the price of the sovereign has not fallen, but instead, has risen. What is the reason for this? There is little doubt that the rise in price is due to two false rumours:—

1. the rumour that the Government were trying to get gold from India to export to America.
2. the rumour that sovereigns hereafter to be coined are to be inferior in weight and fineness to the old sovereign.

There is no truth in either of these rumours. But it appears that many people have believed these rumours and have therefore been anxious to buy sovereigns from the goldsmiths at whatever price they choose to charge.

Those who are thinking of buying sovereigns should consider the following facts before doing so:—

1. On the 21st July, Government sold by auction under the tender system 1, 295, 500 tolas of gold in India. The average rate at which the gold was sold was Rs. 22-0-11 per tola, which is equvalent to Rs. 13 13-6 per sovereign.
2. The Government have announced that they intend to sell 3,750,000 tolas of gold on the 4th and 19th of August and the 1st of September.
3. Further, all restrictions on the import of gold and sovereigns have been removed. From the rate of exchange between New York it appears that the price of a sovereign in New York is now about Rs. 13—12—0. The price of a sovereign in England was about Rs. 13—12—4 on June 25th.
4. The Secretary of State has accepted the recommendations of the Currency Commission, in accordance with which the Government of India are required to endeavour to fix the value of rupee at 1/10th of the gold sovereign.

For these reasons it appears likely that the price of a gold sovereign in India will fall much below Rs 15 and intending purchasers may well wait for a fall in the price.

It should, however, be clearly understood that the Government of India have never undertaken to issue gold sovereigns in exchange for Rs. 10. It will be remembered that even when the gold sovereign was legal tender for Rs. 15. the Government did not undertake to issue gold sovereigns in exchange for Rs. 15.

As stated above, the Secretary of State has accepted the recommendation of the Currency Commission under which the Government of India are required to endeavour to raise the value of the rupee and to fix it so that Rs. 10 may be equivalent in value to one gold sovereign. It is of course well known that considerable difficulties have been experienced in giving effect to this recommendation of the Currency Commission. It is therefore impossible to foretell how long it may be before this object will be attained. But the Government of India have recently announced their intention of bringing in a bill to make the sovereign legal tender for Rs. 10 only. From this it is clear that they still intend ultimately to raise the value of the rupee so that one sovereign sh[illegible] be worth Rs. 10 only.

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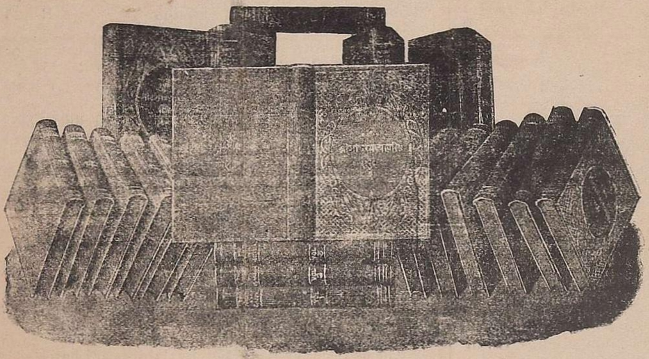

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